

Message Text

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ACTION IO-14

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C O N F I D E N T I A L KINSHASA 5736

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, XA, CG

SUBJECT: NON-ALIGNED ACTIVITIES IN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

REF: STATE 99106

1. SUMMARY: SPECTACULAR SUCCESS OF OIL PRODUCERS' UNION HAS FIRED OTHER LDCS WITH HOPE THAT COHESIVENESS WILL ALSO PAY OFF FOR THEM. DURING THIS INITIAL PERIOD OF HIGH EXPECTATIONS OUR POLICY SHOULD REMAIN ONE OF DISPLAYING RELATIVELY LOW-KEY INTEREST IN NACG ACTIVITIES. MACG DISCIPLINE IS LIKELY TO WEAKEN IN TIME. END SUMMARY.

2. OPEC'S EXAMPLE HAS CLEARLY HAD INTOXICATING EFFECT ON OTHER LDCS TO WHOM UNITY SUDDENLY LOOKS LIKE ULTIMATE WEAPON. INFLUENCE ON MOBUTUS'S FOREIGN POLICY VERY NOTICEABLE. THEMES OF AFRICAN AND LDC SOLIDARITY ARE MORE PERSISTENT AND MORE RINGING. WILLINGNESS TO FOLLOW NACG DISCIPLINE IN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS HAS BEEN REMARKABLE, ALTHOUGH MOBUTU HAS CHARACTERISTICALLY TAKEN SOME OCCASIONS TO ASSERT AN INDEPENDENT LINE (ON KOREA, PRG AND, IN AT LEAST ONE INSTANCE, GRUNK).

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3. LIKE OTHER LDC LEADERS, MOBUTU SEES BLOC TACTICS

AS WAY OF INCREASING PRESSURES ON DCS TO GRANT ECONOMIC AND TRADE CONCESSIONS TO LDCS. IN ADDITION, HE SEES NEW OPPORTUNITIES FOR NATIONAL GAINS. HE HAS BEGUN TO SPEAK OF AN "ALLIANCE OF THE OPPRESSED" WHICH HE WOULD CLEARLY LIKE TO LEAD. HE ALREADY SEES HIMSELF AS BLACK AFRICA'S PRINCIPAL SPOKESMAN IN ARAB CIRCLES. (ONE PAY-OFF IN THE FORM OF A LARGE LIBYAN LOAN IS CURRENTLY IN PROSPECT.) HE IS ALSO SHOWING LIVELIER INTEREST IN PROSPECTS FOR SUCCESSFUL COPPER CARTEL.

4. ALTHOUGH ALL FIVE THREATS DESCRIBED IN PARA 3 REFTEL ARE REAL, IMPLEMENTATION OF THE FIVE PROPOSALS FOR COMBATTING THEM SET FORTH IN PARA 4 REFTEL IS LIKELY TO GIVE DISAPPOINTING RESULTS. IN ZAIRE, REACTION WOULD PROBABLY BE SOMETHING LIKE THIS/ 4A (REFTEL). A GENERAL APPEAL TO PRESS CLAIMS BEYOND LIMITS THAT SUSTAIN WORLD ECONOMIC GROWTH WOULD GO LARGELY UNHEEDED. MOBUTU DOES NOT THINK IN SUCH BROAD TERMS, AND HE BELIEVES LDCS HAVE LONG WAY TO GO TO ACHIEVE THEIR JUST SHARE. 4B (REFTEL) FULLER CONSULTATION ON MULTILATERAL ISSUES MIGHT BE marginally USEFUL. HOWEVER, THIS EMBASSY ALREADY CONSULTS WITH GOZ ON SUCH ISSUES FAR MORE THAN ANY OTHER IN KINSHASA AND FINDS THAT ZAIRIAN FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIALS ARE USUALLY LESS INFLUENCED BY OUR VIEWS THAN BY THOSE OF OAU AND NACG. OUR MAIN SUCCESSES HAVE COME ON THE NECESSARILY INFREQUENT OCCASIONS WHEN WE HAVE MANAGED TO GET THE EAR OF MOBUTU HIMSELF. FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIALS WITH COMPETENCE IN MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS ARE (AND WILL REMAIN), FEW, HARASSED AND RELUCTANT TO MAKE DECISIONS. 4C (REFTEL). OUR MAJOR AID EFFORT IN ZAIRE DURING ITS EARLIER TROUBLED TIMES HAS EARNED US A HERITAGE OF LINGERING GOOD WILL. OUR SHRINKING AID POSTURE WOULD PERHAPS HAVE DAMAGED IT MORE HAD MOBUTU NOT BEEN GOING FROM STRENGTH TO STRENGTH POLITICALLY BY PURSUING NONALIGNED POLICIES. AT THIS POINT, A CARROT AND STICK APPROACH WOULD SERIOUSLY RISK LOSING US THAT GOOD WILL. 4D (REFTEL) IDENTIFYING PROBLEMS OF BROAD CONCERN AND TAKING CONCRETE INITIATIVES THROUGH UN IS A SOUND APPROACH FOR LONG

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TERM. MOBUTU HAS BEEN QUICK TO PROCLAIM THAT SO-CALLED IMPERIALIST COUNTRIES ARE DOING MORE FOR DROUGHT-AFFLICTED IN AFRICA THAN ANYBODY ELSE. BY MAINTAINING OUR ROLE OF CONCERNED AND GENUINE WORLD LEADER, WE WILL PROVIDE POLE OF ATTRACTION TO MORE MODERATE LDC GOVERNMENTS AS THEY BECOME DISENCHANGED WITH NACG. 4E (REFTEL). DEMONSTRATING FLEXIBILITY IN TRANSFERRING AID RESOURCES THROUGH INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

DEPENDING ON THEIR OPERATIONAL EFFECTIVENESS WOULD ALSO CARRY WEIGHT HERE PROVIDED WE STRESSED ORGANIZATIONAL AND BUDGETARY ISSUES RATHER THAN POLITICAL ONES. IT TOO WOULD HAVE TO BE A LONG-TERM APPROACH.

5. ONE ASPECT OF PROBLEM PARTICULARLY APPARENT FROM HERE IS RELATIVE LACK OF SUPPORT FROM GOVERNMENTS WHOSE INTERESTS ON MANY NACG ISSUES PARALLEL OUR OWN. ZAIRIAN FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIALS HAVE COMMENTED TO US FROM TIME TO TIME ON OUR LONELY SOLICITUDE FOR CAUSES THAT OTHER GOVERNMENTS, PRESUMABLY EVEN MORE DIRECTLY CONCERNED, DO NOT BOTHER TO RAISE OR PRESS, AT LEAST HERE IN KINSHASA. PRESUMABLY THOSE GOVERNMENTS ARE WEIGHING IN IN NEW YORK AND ELSEWHERE, AND PERHAPS THEY WYOULD ONLY MUDDY THE WATER IF THEY INTERVENED HERE, BUT IT IS NEVERTHELESS REMARKABLE HOW OFTEN WE FIND OURSELVES DOING IT TOTALLY ALONE.

6. IN ANY CASE, IT APPEARS TO US THAT STRAINS ALREADY VISIBLE WITHIN NACG ARE BOUND TO LEAD TO BREAKDOWN IN SOLIDARITY. WHILE THERE MAY BE FURTHER SETBACKS FOR US POSITIONS AND DAMAGE TO INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS BEFORE THIS BEGINS TO HAPPEN, WE PROBABLY HAVE LITTLE CHOICE BUT TO HOLD LARGELY TO OUR PRESENT POLICIES UNTIL IT DOES.

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